Non-Partisan Discussion of International Movements

World Unity

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

LEADING ARTICLES

A Breathing Spell Only—*Editorial*
The Advancement of International Peace—*Martin*
Shall We Give Up Proselyting?—*Holt*
The League of Nations and the U. S.—*Bassett*
Is World Citizenship Visionary?—*Ross*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

"The first and fundamental requisite for useful cooperation abroad is adequate organization at home."—*De Witt Clinton Poole*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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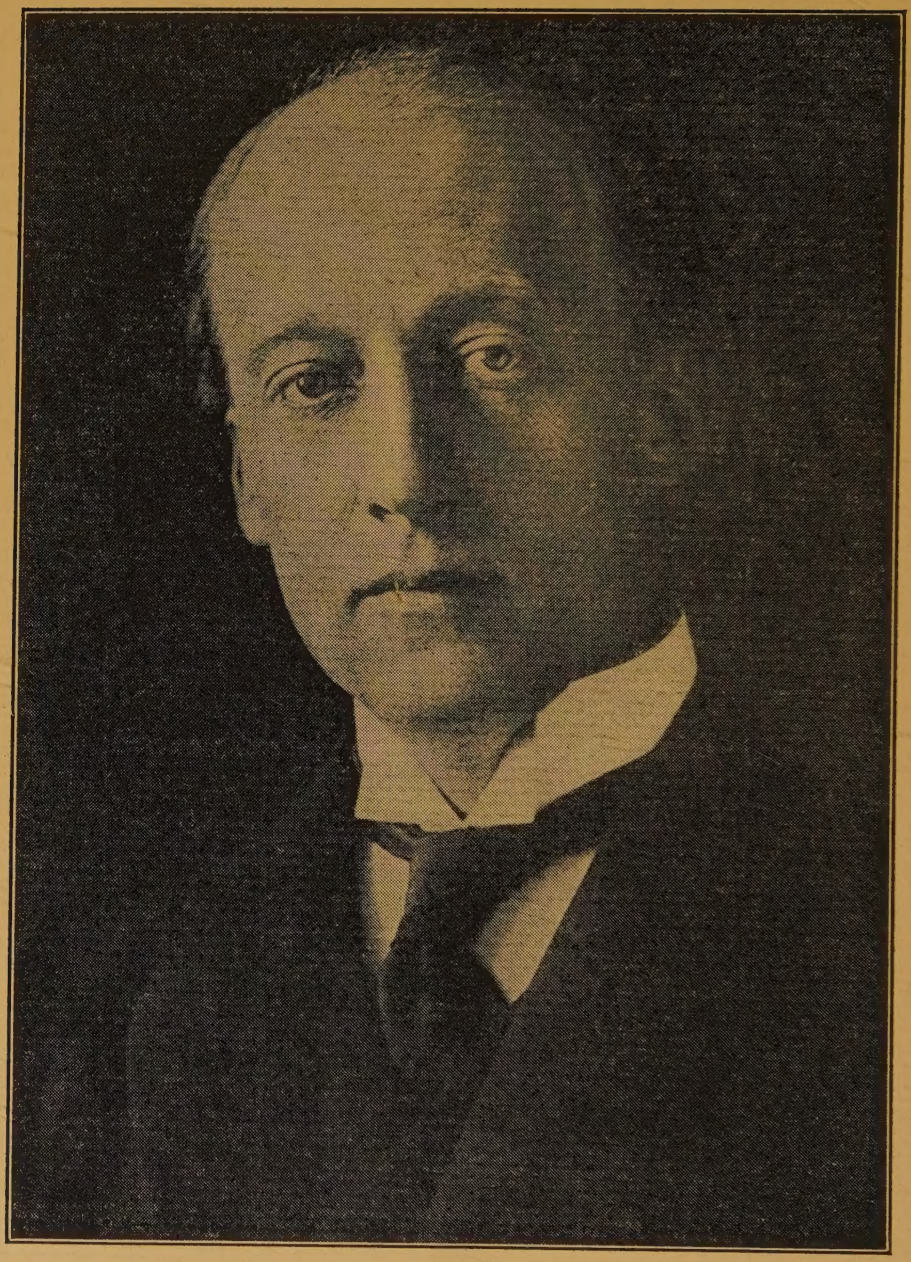

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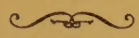
ARTHUR PONSONBY

Apostle of World Unity

(See World Unity Magazine for May, 1931)

A BREATHING SPELL ONLY



EDITORIAL

IN spite of the continued pressure of our own domestic problems and the threat of a serious winter of unemployment just before us, our leading papers during the last month have given first place to conditions in Europe, and especially to the grave economic crisis in Germany. Ever since President Hoover called for a year's moratorium for Germany, a few American papers have been thundering against Hoover's "sentimental internationalism," and calling upon him to do something for the unemployed in this country instead of interfering with European problems.

But this kind of criticism comes too late in the day to have any real effect. The thinking of the leaders and the intelligent public generally has left behind the old traditional policy of isolation, and the great mass of public opinion is behind the President in the policy of international cooperation which he has now espoused. Perhaps it was necessary that this country should suffer as it is suffering in order that the people should be aroused to the realization that as nations we are all members one of another, and that our economic and political salvation can only be achieved through intelligent cooperation. This realization is the great gain coming out of our present trials.

The Seven-Power Conference held in London in July fell far short of expectations. The exclusion of any discussion of war debts, reparations and politics automatically removed the three essentials upon which a permanent cure of German financial ills must eventually be based. Three things are claimed as the result of this conference: first; an extension by the various Central Banks, including

the Reserve Bank, of a loan to Germany of $100,000,000. This of course was a matter for the banks to determine, and the extension was forced by conditions. Second; a request that the banks holding short-term German credits extend these credits. This request has since been granted. Third; A request that the Bank for International Settlements investigate Germany and ascertain the facts of her actual needs. Thus the immediate crisis was tided over, though obviously the real problems involved are only postponed.

What will happen? No one can say. Germany, in lieu of any long term loan which she expected, may attempt her own resurrection on lines similar to those accomplished by France five years ago. Such action, if possible of achievement, would be greatly welcomed. Or, the investigation of Germany's financial condition by the International Bank may lead to the granting of a long-term loan in the near future. It is safe to predict however that the logic of events will steadily force the reconsideration of the whole question of debts and reparations. The New York papers published this month an article, "Wall Street sentiment grows in favor of the revision of the Versailles Treaty."

Aside from the immediate crisis, however, three most significant changes have come to pass. First, the United States has definitely returned to world affairs and it is hard to see how its influence in international cooperation can now fail to increase steadily. Second, the governments of the capitalist nations have finally acted unanimously in the interests of international credit. The more recent agreement of the U. S. and France to extend to England a $250,000,000 credit is but another proof of the economic solidarity of the world. Third, it is rumored that American diplomacy is preparing to offer substantial debt reductions at the Disarmament Conference in 1932 in return for substantial military reductions. But enlightened opinion in all countries recognizes increasingly that there can be no permament gain unless France and Germany can be led to bear with one another, to work positively together and to seek common destiny.

INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE: AN EVALUATION

by

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To record progress is to state the favorable side of a case, and to evaluate is to appraise something, from the standpoint of its quality or quantity, or perhaps both. In pursuing this inquiry, our assignment is not necessarily a contradictory one. In the work of developing and perfecting institutions and processes for the advancement of international peace, the harvest is abundant and the laborers are few. Accordingly, any progress we may be able to record is a hopeful sign in a civilization which has been based, in part at least, on the institution of war. There have been so many mistakes, and so much of retrogression, that the simplest task, perhaps, is that of seeking out progress from a general background of discouragement and failure. This, of course, is viewing the problem of peace in retrospect.

The more recent progress in the advancement of international peace has been, on the whole, encouraging; although to many people, it has been in some respects disappointing. Certainly only the blind would say that no progress has been made, and only the confirmed idealist would state that we have reached the level of a warless world. The more than a decade of years which have just passed has been a time of activity and change. No decade in history has witnessed greater changes. The struggle which ended the great war; the crumbling of four European monarchies; seven or eight new or re-born states in Europe; the spread of democracy; Russia's experiment in communism; the struggle of old and new forces

in China; financial and economic struggle in Europe;—these and other great changes compete for major places in the firmament of political alteration. Another may be added, less spectacular, less engaging, but a more significant, and we hope more permanent change, has been the occupation of peoples and nations in the development of institutions and processes which will advance international peace.

There have been plans of peace throughout the ages, and we have been abundantly supplied with principles of concert and co-operation, which, if applied, would reduce warfare, if it would not mean permanent peace. Moreover, we have, in the past, worked at the business of peace at intermittent intervals, such as at the end of a war, great or small, on occasions when some international situation would require solution, and the like. But our efforts have always been only sufficient unto the day, and the temporary urge which always followed an adjustment of the immediate difficulty has never before ripened into a permanent, sustained, day-to-day effort to organize the world for peace, both against present and future contingencies. This contemporary effort of the world to safeguard itself against international anarchy in the future, is therefore, one of the contributions of this decade to political change. It is the negation, in part, of the policy of the United States, which would "deal with a situation if and when it arises," and which "will make no committment in advance of the contingency."

To have principles and ideals is not sufficient. To become effective they must be systematized and established into institutions, and formalized and organized into processes. The grand divisions of human conduct and activity have become institutionalized. Society has the home; politics has the state; religion has the church; the intellectual world has the university; and economic interests either enjoy the institution of private property, or exercise the proprietary right in some form. These forces, thus institutionalized, work through a thousand and one processes to achieve their ends. This is because an institution is something concrete, a substantial embodiment of certain principles, and a process is a channel of pressure, influence, information, and work. The capital defect in

our international society has been that our principles and ideals have not been institutionalized and processed. It may be answered that diplomacy has in the past been a process of peace. Yet, it has been the servant of the national state, or a group of states, and not of the society of nations, and has too frequently been the instrument of war rather than of peace.

I. *Political Institutions—The League of Nations.*

The League of Nations is unquestionably the leading institution in the political field today interested in the advancement of international peace. It is indeed the mother of other institutions, and the creator of new processes. As such it has been described as a fussy hen covering a number of noisy chicks. Due to its championship of many causes, and its sponsorship of many others, it has not, perhaps, developed its own purpose and individuality as it might have done, had its objective been more restricted, and its activities less dispersed. Yet, this very expansion and dispersion of effort is regarded by some as its greatest contribution today. The argument is, let lesser institutions and processes contract their purpose and limit their activity. But let one general, central, and we hope, eventually universal institution point the way. It will make for an appropriate division of labor, will prevent unnecessary duplication, and will take care that all affiliated international effort is related in purpose and method to the general movement for peace.

The League, unfortunately, is regarded too often in the light of the communicant, who, in regular order of worship, declares that he has done many things he should not have done, and has left undone many of the things he should have done. We cannot evaluate the League of Nations by the method of the confessional. The evil in the world today is eloquent evidence of the fact that too many people, of a contrite spirit for their sins of commission and omission, have either remained on their knees, and have done nothing about it, or have continued in their evil ways until the season is again at hand to confess. The pro-Leaguer or anti-Leaguer owes it to his intelligence to discover the basic facts. Special pleading and bitter abuse have served only to bewilder. The objects of the

League are so profound, and its activities and achievements so wide and significant, that emotional feeling, both adverse and favorable, is likely to be generated. A neutral, detached, scientific analysis of its progress seems difficult, if not impossible.

We do not, then, find the League's progress in its sins of omission or of commission. Nor can it be found in the fact that in certain respects it has not achieved the ideals of its founders. If all institutions and processes must be so judged, then the Constitution of the United States is a great disappointment. The "Founding Fathers" did not plan an executive elected by the general vote of the people, political parties, a Senate chosen by the people of the states, the abolition of slavery, the admission of women to the franchise, prohibition, and a host of other modern American political principles and practices. The soundness of an institution can be judged, in part at least, by its departure from certain plans entertained by its founders, which are for the present premature, which are unnecessary, which are beyond its reach, or which for any reason may defeat or discourage the ultimate objective of a civilization which is working for the elimination of the institution of war. It is also judged by its courage to enter upon new courses of action when they are justified. The usual arguments are that the League has done, or has attempted to do too much, and that it has done nothing, or too little. Both funeral dirges are chanted by the same company of opponents. Both cannot be true. We must look elsewhere, then, to evaluate the League fairly. And we need only look at the facts.

Examination into the League's many activities is beside the point, both as regards time and interest. The recent progress of the League as an institution for the advancement of international peace may be summarized as follows: Through the League of Nations, upwards of fifty nations have solemnly covenanted, through a short, simple agreement, first, not to go to war without resorting to the peaceful processes of conciliation or arbitration, and secondly, to work together through permanent organizations, institutions and processes, for the general improvement of world relations and for the establishment and maintenance of world peace. It sounds very

simple and elementary, so much so that we are prone to pass it over, and to lose sight of the League's greatest achievement in our examination of its detailed activities. For the first time in history most of the nations of the world have assumed a common moral responsibility for the preservation of peace, and have constituted an organization, or still better, have perfected an institution to make the responsibility effective. Ten years and more of the League have proved this to be true, and this I believe to be progress indeed. Subsidiary lines of progress, discussed under this heading, would detract from the importance of this point, too often overlooked in a chronicle of the League's progress.

II. *Judicial Institutions—The Permanent Court of International Justice.*

International arbitration is a legal process, and legal methods obtain in employing it. While mediation recommends, arbitration decides, and an award is binding on a losing party, which is in honor bound to carry it into effect. This is inherent in the agreement to have recourse to the process of arbitration. This process was sufficient for clearly justiciable questions, but it proved to be a method of settlement with clear limitations. For one thing, decisions were rendered by *ad hoc* bodies, which had no continuing existence after the question under review had been decided. Again, the jurisdiction of these temporary tribunals was often expressly limited by the treaties of submission. Then, with nationals of the parties to the controversy on the board of arbitration, it too often became a matter of nation against nation, with the umpire casting a deciding vote, rather than a judicial inquiry. While balloting is necessary among judges to come to a decision, to canvass a bench of judges to discover their corporate thought as regards a question before them is one thing, and to count noses on election day, or in a legislative assembly, is quite another. But the capital defect of arbitration is yet another thing. It lies not in the failure of nations, once having agreed to arbitrate, to carry out an adverse award, but in the reluctance of nations, and often their refusal to have recourse to process of arbitration. To supply this defect, the Permanent

Court of International Justice was instituted. Nations either feared arbitration or had little confidence in the process.

The advantages of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the subject of many learned treatises, may be summarized briefly. It is *representative,* in that its members are chosen from countries belonging to the main forms of civilization and embracing principal legal systems of the world. It has a definite *personnel,* in that its work is never done and the Court is never discharged. Changes in personnel take place freely, but the Court as an institution functions permanently and continuously. It applies a *determinate law,* such as international conventions, international custom, the principles of international law, and the decisions of courts and the teachings of jurists. It has an *enlarged and competent jurisdiction,* in that it extends to "all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specifically provided for in treaties and conventions in force." The general jurisdiction of the Statute of the Court is supplemented by a large special jurisdiction in the form of treaties and conventions. It encourages *"obligatory process,"* by providing that nations may, by adhering to an optional Clause, have recourse to compulsory jurisdiction in certain classes of legal disputes, such as treaty interpretation, a point of international law, a fact constituting a breach of an international obligation and the reparation therefor, and the interpretation of a decision of the Court. Adhesion to the Optional Clause is wisely made voluntary, or there would be no adhesion. It provides, through the power of the court to decide a case *ex aequo et bono, for an effective and immediate summary jurisdiction,* when the ordinary course of International Justice is too slow or unsuited to the needs of the parties and of the international society. While not a "League Court," as the Hearst papers describe it, yet it is connected with a *league of peace,* through the provision for finances, the adoption of the Court Budget, the use of the League's auditing machinery, through the request of the Assembly or Council for Advisory Opinions, and also through the election of judges to the Court. While the League does not compel submission to process, and does not enforce compliance with decisions as a general policy, there is, after all, greater stability behind

an institution with the support of the League of Nations, than behind one which depends for its efficacy and application upon a general convention of arbitration.

The Court's leading defect is the fact that some classes of disputes, called political or non-justiciable, will not be submitted to it. Yet, the Optional Clause is the most concrete step toward obligatory arbitration yet taken. Even institutions must make progress by taking one step at a time.

The Court is an institution to which all nations may repair for the pacific settlement of their international disputes. I have yet to state its greatest contribution to the progress of international peace. Its importance lies, as Elihu Root said, not mainly in the cases decided, but in the cases it does not have to decide because the Court is there.

III. *Social Institutions—The International Labor Organization.*

The International Labor Organization is a controversial institution. Many people who know something of the work of the League of Nations know little or nothing of the work of this organization. Among its most severe critics are those who believe that its work might well be done by the League of Nations, and that it duplicates or at least invades the sphere of the Economic Organization of the League. Others believe that it should find its own finances, and they contend, not without reason, that devoting one-third of the League's budget to the work of this organization, and to the interest of one group of society, is all out of proportion to its real value and importance. Certain persons and organizations, opposed to any legislation, municipal or international, which is favorable to labor, object to it on general grounds. Moreover, advanced labor leaders oppose it on the ground that it is even less than a half-way measure, and is only a smokescreen, manufactured by an international bourgeois society, the product of the bourgeois national state, to stem the tide of labor unrest, and to prevent the impending world Revolution and the adoption of communism. Whatever its faults, we can only look at its achievements and results.

The Organization seeks, through the establishment of an international law of labor, to codify internationally the leading social principles of the world. It rests on Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, and is as marked a departure from its historic traditions as is the League of Nations. M. Albert Thomas, the Director of the Office, envisaged an international social code, based on treaties, which would become a part of international law and practice. In a word, he sought to conventionalize ideals, principles and policies, into law. The Organization has become more than it was intended to be, and a controversy waged about this question until it was affirmatively settled in the interest of the Organization. It cannot be held down by related institutions such as the League of Nations, nor can it be circumscribed because its work invades other than the social field. International social legislation cannot extend to labor alone. It must in its ramifications touch, and even invade the field of economics, and also politics and law. Its work covers the subjects of working conditions, social insurance, wages, possibilities of employment, protection of special classes of workers, workers' living conditions, and workers' general rights. The Permanent Court of International Justice has upheld its jurisdiction, and there seems to be no legal obstacle in the way of the extension of its influence and authority into the economic field.

The Organization has been compelled to relate the international humanitarianism which lead to its creation with experience and with life. It does not intend to retrace its steps or to become a reactionary institution. On the other hand, it aims to draft and recommend only such conventions as may become effective through ratification. It has not, and does not intend to report at once a complete code of the international law of labor. But step by step, piece by piece, and subject by subject, it seeks to build up a substantive international law of labor, and an international social jurisprudence which will have a permanent and a universal effect. Its work relating to seamen is perhaps the best single example of its purpose and method. The Conferences are not isolated sessions, but they have a definite connection from year to year. So also, the

meetings of the governing board, held about four times annually, are mere incidents in the unity and the continuity of the Organization.

The Organization drafts conventions which are to be ratified as treaties, and makes recommendations, which are to find a place in municipal legislation as national labor law. The number of conventions adopted, the number of ratifications registered, and the important subjects to which they extend, are evidence of the influence and importance of these conventions. Even when not ratified, there is evidence of the influence of the conventions on the social and labor policy and laws of a number of the nations. It can, therefore, codify and legislate through the drafting of conventions, and it can set a standard for national legislation, which is perhaps as important a function.

The function of the International Labor Organization is to bring peace between social classes. It does not attempt to standardize labor conditions, but merely to establish an international minimum. In addition to the drafting of international conventions for the regulation of labor conditions, it serves as a clearing house for the gathering of information respecting the hours and conditions of labor and wages. A condition of world peace is the establishment of social justice throughout the world. The Organization is committed to this task. A satisfied employed population and a condition of peace between employer and employe is essential to international and national order. The International Labor Organization seeks to do this by process of accretion, and wisely recognizes that it cannot be the work of a day.

IV. *Economic Institutions—the Economic Organization of the League and the Economic Conferences.*

One Eméric Crucé, in 1623, in suggesting a peace plan, declared that commerce was the finest fruit of universal peace, and that the first business of the sovereign was to keep the avenues of trade open on land and sea, for the free and uninterrupted movement of goods. Moreover, the merchant, legitimately increasing his resources by his own labor, and injuring no one, was more praiseworthy than the soldier, whose advancement depends on the spol-

iation and destruction of others. Much has happened since the time of Crucé. But the development of economic institutions for the advancement of peace is a recent undertaking.

The practice of international economic cooperation began on a wide scale during the Great War. This cooperation was for the purpose of defeating the enemy, and to win the conflict. The need for some form of cooperation continued in time of peace. It seemed natural and logical that the League should afford the means and the opportunity. This it attempted to do through its Economic Organization. Immediately following the War the League of Nations and the states of Europe were occupied with the economic malady of the continent. The restoration of depreciated currencies, the balancing of budgets, the reparations and the debt problems were the immediate ones requiring collective international financial action. This was attempted and accomplished in Hungary and Austria. The Economic Organization, and the Economic Conferences did not come to grips with the real continuing problem until the World Economic Conference of 1927.

This Conference sought to establish international economic peace and freedom through the study and application of fundamentals. The conflicting economic policies of the governments have been and are the great problem in European economic peace today. The Conference aimed to aid prosperity and the peace of the world by resolving these conflicts. This was to be done through the removal of trade barriers, by lowering customs duties and by removing import and export prohibitions. The states, in their national policies, have gone in the opposite direction. The economic section, the economic consultative committee, and the continuation conferences have done little to stem the tide of rising tariffs. The tariff convention does stabilize duties already established, but it does not meet the problem of tariff reduction. The convention for the removal of import and export prohibition imposes the obligation to remove existing barriers, and not to establish new ones. But the treaty is not in effect. The League of Nations, therefore, has not afforded the necessary economic relief for Europe through the two methods open to it, namely, by *conference* and *convention.*

We may well admit the failure of the League in the financial field. Specialists and experts can make little headway when governments have little or no interest in what is being done.

M. Briand proposes to remedy the situation through the establishment of the United States of Europe. He would organize the states of Europe, members of the League, into a federal union for purposes of solidarity, economic betterment, and for study of and action upon common problems. Through a pact of Europe it would define its relation to the League, and would set forth its purpose. The plenary body would be a *European Conference,* meeting annually for purposes of legislation and agreement. The executive organ would be a *Permanent Political* Committee, made up of the agents of a few of the states, which would carry out the mandates of the Conference. A *Secretariat* would be the permanent administrative agent, with headquarters at Geneva. Its principles are few and simple. Political union and security would take precedence over economic union. *Union* rather than *unity* would be the heart of the Confederation. It would allow for the free exercise of sovereignty and independence, but would make possible the blessings of collective economic action. Finally, it would substitute a simple pact of economic solidarity for the present conflicting economic policies. There would be one instead of many economic systems. The field of economic cooperation would be sufficiently broad to make the Conference effective. It would be, in effect, an economic League of Nations, with the authority and the organization to discharge adequately and promptly the necessary functions.

It is in some such manner that the continuing economic problems of Europe must be met. The nations responsible for the present condition of things must come to grips with the situation they have created. It is not designed to rival the League of Nations, or to compete directly with other political units. It seeks to deal with the problems of the European states *inter se.* What is needed is a market of continental proportions without a tariff handicap in passing from one sovereignty to another. The economic principle of protection is to be joined with the political principle of federalism to secure for Europe the economic blessings enjoyed by the

United States. It intends only a sound European economy. At best, the whole purchasing power of Europe is not greater than that of the people of the United States. The adhesion of other states will be asked in time. If tariff duties can be lowered regionally, some progress will have been made. Relief in this field, then, must be through channels more effective than League of Nations conferences and conventions.

V. *A Permanent Parliament of International Law—the Codification of International Law.*

The usual derogatory remarks made about international law, i.e., that it is not law, that it is indeterminate, and that it cannot be enforced, or is not observed, are made less and less today. The answer to the first, as Chief Justice Hughes has said, begins and ends with the definition of law. As to its indeterminate character, we may observe that even the best of our own codes must be interpreted in the light of the common law, and that even the Supreme Court of the United States occasionally resorts to the "rule of reason" in interpreting the meaning of an important and controversial statute. While it may be difficult on occasion to say what international law is on a given point, the same difficulty is present in regard to municipal law. As to enforcement, as long as amendments to the American constitution or any constitution are not observed and enforced in all or some parts of the country, and while there is a studied and deliberate attempt to set them aside by process of nullification, it is not well for the efficacy of municipal, and especially constitutional law, to invite comparisons with international law. In regard to the national state, there is a growing cult of political disobediance which would have us resist the action of the state, and that we posit our habit to obey on the merit and the substance of the law alone, and not because it is the state which commands. In the international community, on the other hand, there is an increasing tendency to bring the conduct of states in line with the recognized principles of international conduct, and to secure a more universal and uniform observance of them. The international scene is not surcharged with an atmosphere of dis-

obedience, but with one of at least reasonable compliance with public law. To this extent, the advantage is with the international community, and with international law.

There has, however, been a leading defect in international law which John Bassett Moore pointed out years ago, and which the nations have been slow to remedy. It was the lack of legislative or a declaring organ which could declare with authority and with a certain finality what international law is on a given point, and which declaration would remain law on that point until the legislative organ should speak again. There will always be different interpretations of international law. The difficulty is that nations have not often interpreted the same thing. And the standard of conduct for one should be the standard for all.

A parliament of international law, to supply the defect named above, is in process of formation through the contemporary efforts at codification. There will not be a single legislative body for this purpose, nor will the League of Nations Council or Assembly be empowered to declare international law. It will be objected that present efforts at codification will proceed slowly, and that the representatives of the nations may refuse to agree. Moreover, the countries may refuse to ratify the Conventions. Yet, a definite international legislature is out of the question, and the sporadic and desultory conferences for purposes of codification, held prior to the war, do not satisfy the requirements of world progress. Projects of regional and of world-wide applications are to be encouraged even though they may fall short even of our conservative expectations. The League of Nations, in determining, first, what subjects are ripe for codification, and then specializing on those fields, is proceeding on a scientific basis. This method, if we persist in it, will mean for us a permanent parliament of international law, with a single code, on certain subjects at least, universally adopted and internationally recognized.

VI. *The Limitation of Armament—The Disarmament Conferences.*

Limitation of armament, according to Admiral Pratt, may be achieved through attrition, reduction by examples, by alliances or

the pooling of the issues, and by agreement. The United States is a willing party to the first and fourth methods, and stands unalterably opposed to the second and third methods. In disarming, we are more than ever dealing with the situation of what the countries are willing to do. The League Covenant defines a nation's armament needs as an adequate defense plus the performance of international obligations through joint action. The situation as regards disarmament is summed up by Senor de Madariaga as the relation of armed power to a nation's needs. Armed power in terms of men, money, and materials is difficult to define, and therefore difficult to reduce. A nation's needs both as regards adequate defense, and the fulfillment of international obligations, are subjective terms, and variable ones. The great need is to define disarmament, and to determine upon an adequate method of measurement. This the League of Nations has been trying to do, and we may add, with some success. How to reduce is not so difficult a question as what to reduce.

It is easy to point out the failure of the 1927 Conference at Geneva, and to say that the Pact of London effected no real reduction. But a failure often leads to a success. Certain encouraging things may be mentioned in connection with the London Conference. Tonnage was scrapped under it, and some ships will not be built. Rather than waiting for the Washington treaty to expire, the countries dealt with the problem several years in advance before a retreat could be taken from prior positions. The problem of categories was dealt with. The activities of groups opposed to limitation were brought to light, and their motives exposed and made clear. The civil authorities of the powers, rather than the naval commands, determined what the future naval strength should be. In the future the province of both will stand out—the civil authorities will answer to questions of policy and the command will answer to questions of technique and strategy. Reduction of surplus armaments following the war, as at the Washington Conference, was comparatively simple, just as it was simple to reduce war taxes when expenditures had ceased. It is not so simple to reduce armaments and taxes now, with nations on a peace footing. The London

and Washington conferences stand on different planes, and must be judged in different lights.

The fact is that we have developed a *process* of disarmament. This has been done in part through the Disarmament Section of the League, which makes a study of the question, and keeps the problem permanently before the League members. It is done in part through the conferences on the limitation of armament, which are the beginning and only that, of reducing armaments to reasonable proportions. Nothing is gained by debating whether arms generate war, or war makes arms. Both are probably true. Through this process, we have seen the first fruits of limitation, and we have not seen the last fruits yet.

Then the people of the naval powers are *limitation-minded.* We live in an atmosphere of limitation. Peoples, parties, parliaments and governments are together on the principle, even though there may be difficulty as to method. What a people are minded to do will prevail.

I have discussed the foregoing institutions and processes of peace which lie in the political, judicial, social, economic, legal, and military fields of international conduct. The institutions and processes described are respectively the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Labor Organization, the Economic Conferences, the Conferences for the Codification of International Law, and the Disarmament Conferences. Many other fields could be included, and other institutions and processes could have been chosen. But these are the landing fields in which progress has been made, and these are the more representative and the most universal of the institutions and processes. Intellectual institutions and organizations, private and unofficial agencies for peace, and the growing unity of the arts and sciences could be related to these progressive movements. But space limits do not permit it.

I close as I began. One of the striking characteristics of this decade is the systematization of our international principles and ideals into institutions, and their formalization into processes. In this way they take on flesh and blood, and will endure. War

persisted in human society because it had become an institution, buttressed and supported by many processes. Peace is becoming an institution instead of an abstract ideal. It is assuming all the characteristics which make principles fundamental and permanent. The process is difficult, and often discouraging. But its difficulty is the genuine test of its worth.

A paper read before the American Political Science Association, Cleveland, Ohio, December 30, 1930.

SHALL WE GIVE UP PROSELYTING?

by

ARTHUR E. HOLT

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THE year after the war I happened to be coming home on board a vessel from Cherbourg to New York. One of the passengers was an old Jew who had just been rescued by his son from the turmoil in southern Russia. The old man had been living in a community where they had herded the Jews together in their synagogues and then set fire to them. He had endured the terrible privations of that revolutionary period. He became a great object of interest to all of us who were on board the ship and many kind deeds were performed by people of every faith. One day some of us saw the old fellow sitting on a bench on the ship's deck with the tears streaming down his cheeks. We called his son—because the old man could not understand our language—and asked him what was the trouble. After talking with his father for a moment the son said, "This is the first time that father has ever seen a Christian do a good turn to a Jew. He is weeping from sheer joy that he is going to America."

I have wondered sometimes during the last few years and during the last year especially whether the old Jew is still weeping from sheer joy that he has come to America. As the lines have tightened, as men who have been neighbors and friends have been divided because the prejudices of the corporate religious groups have insisted on the division, I have wondered if he hasn't felt that religion is playing the same old tricks on him that it used to play in Europe.

I look out on America and it seems to me there is one major question which grows more insistent every day. It is this: Will the attitudes of corporate religious groups be America's last and toughest piece of human unbrotherliness?

It is my business to study Chicago. I am perfectly certain that we are not going to do away with the religious groups of Chicago. There are 1,200,000 Catholics; there are about 1,200,000 Protestants, and three or four hundred thousand Jews. The chance that the Protestants are going to eliminate the Catholics or that the Catholics are going to supplant the Protestants, is just about as great as the chance that the Muslims are going to overrun all of us. I am willing to go further and say that I do not think any of the western religious groups are going to supplant the eastern religious groups. Supplanting as a workable theory, has gone. It simply is not worthy of consideration.

The real question which is before us then is this: Accepting these groups as facts, expecting to see them endure for generations upon generations to come, how can there be an inter-group, ethical relationship? We have a science of inter-national relationship; we have an ethics of inter-racial relationship. Can there be an ethics of inter-religious group relationships? I do not accept even the easy solution that men of culture of all faiths can get along with each other. That's not dealing with the real problem. The real problem is, how can you keep the customs and the attitudes of corporate group relationships from reacting back and destroying the personal relationships? In other words, what are the conditions of conduct which ought to govern the action of corporate religious groups, if they are to lead their people into relationships of brotherly friendship?

Now I think there are about four negative and three positive propositions which we ought to introduce into this little code for decent relationships among religious groups.

The first one is that if these groups are to have a true relationship to each other they will have to give up their bad habit of ruining each other's moral reputation for missionary purposes.

Not long ago, the "Literary Digest" had a story of a trial in which all the evidence which was introduced at the trial was what one man saw through a keyhole. The "Digest" carried a cartoon and the point of the cartoon was this: That a man looking through a keyhole might see accurately what he did see, he might report accurately what he saw, but actually what he reported was a lie,

with reference to the totality of what happened in that room. Now I think frequently inter-religious group information has been "keyhole information." It has emphasized that which was really a lie, with reference to the totality of what was happening in some of the religious groups and as a result it has laid a strong foundation for religious prejudice.

The next proposition we will have to introduce into a code for decent conduct between religious groups, is that the size of a group is no test of its spiritual strength. For a long time I had a church across the street from a man who had four or five thousand people at church every Sunday morning. I had a group smaller than his and he used to use the size of his group as a proof of the spiritual excellence of his people over against mine. I grew sensitive upon that subject. I used to say to a friend of mine. "Why is it that they always have more people at that church than I have at mine?" He would say, "Well, Mr. Holt, you will have to admit that there are just more of that kind of people in the world." The size of the group is dependent on so many things. It is dependent upon the birth-rate if nothing else, and that's not necessarily related to spirituality. It is sometimes dependent upon the fertility of the soil on which the group happens to make its living. Size is no test and there must be a respect for spiritual minorities.

Again, we will have to give up all kinds of recruiting of religious membership, which is built on any kind of compulsion. Now there are compulsions of a great many kinds. Back in the early history of the United States the police force was back of the clergy to guarantee the attendance of the people on Sunday. Some of us know that we had ancestors because we find records of their having been arrested for non-attendance at church on the Sabbath. That was a compulsion of the political kind. You have the compulsion of benevolence. We have heard of "rice-Christians." I suppose there are swimming pool Christians, and hospital Christians—all those kinds of compulsion which evade the honest issue, namely the validity of the spiritual ideals of the group.

Then we must give up those absolutisms which are based on the infallibility of institutional or literary religion. We gave up

absolutisms in the state. We said that the divine right of kings had to go. We didn't abolish kings; we just tempered their enthusiasms. They went around more willing to submit their actions to the ordinary laws of usefulness. Now the difficulty with these absolutisms in religion is that they have a tendency to lead people to think that they can act in an arbitrary way. Sometimes it results in arrogance—always it creates impossible situations and sometimes stands in the way of that deep, abiding humility which ought to characterize all people who are going to be fit members for a league of brotherly love.

But let me turn to the positive side of this. If we are to have tolerance, if we are to have those relationships which we should have between corporate religious groups, a religious group must be possessed of a deep sincerity of life. I have no interest whatever in that kind of a religion which causes people to say that one kind of religious truth is just as good as another kind. As Dr. King says, in that magnificent book of his, "The Laws of Friendship Human and Divine," "All friendship must be based first of all upon a deep integrity of life, second, it must be based upon a mutual self-revelation and answering trust, and third, on a deep community interest in the things which are worthwhile."

Referring to the matter of the necessity of a deep integrity of life, Dr. King says, "There is no place for that indifferent, falsely tolerated folly that puts all values on a dead level, that knows no high resolves, no burning enthusiasms, no hot indignations. It is not without insight that Dante makes both heaven and hell reject those who have no decisive choices who are neither for God nor for his enemies. And nothing makes more impossible a genuinely significant friendship than the lackadaisical indifference that finds no heights and depths anywhere; that returns the same response of spirit to each appeal." There can be no inter-group friendship when there is no sincerity of religion. There can be no inter-racial relationship until there is a true racial pride. There can be no international relationship unless there is first of all a true patriotism.

The next positive thing, which is necessary, is that religious groups should be willing to share their best and should be inter-

ested in the best of other religious groups. Now that may seem an impossible thing but I do not think it necessarily is. We have had so much training in knowing the worst about other religious groups that it seems hard to say that we are going to know the best about them.

One night on the West Side of Chicago I saw a man who is interested in having a group of young people know the best about the Negro people in Chicago. That group of young people had gone out to the South Side Negro church and they had been taken around the South Side of Chicago and had seen the best of the Negro institutions, and then these young people had come back to this common meeting. There were about three hundred and fifty of them. Two of their number told what they had seen and then some of the Negro singers sang Negro songs and led the rest of the group in the magnificent Negro spirituals. Out of it all there came to me the impression that here the process had been reversed and people were trying to know each other at their best and that a real tolerance was being built up. I am inclined to think that that could be done on the part of all religious groups in cities if they once set their minds to it. There is not a single religious group in Chicago which is not tremendously interesting if you know the best about it. It is only our bad habit of trying to know the worst that makes them seem uninteresting.

Finally, religious groups can have great common projects in public service. I know people will point to our experiences of the past and say that it is not possible. I believe that it is possible. I think we will have to do some accurate thinking about how it should be done. I do not believe I want to see these religious groups become the pattern of the organization of society outside of those groups. I sat sometime ago in a hotel lobby in St. Louis, talking to Secretary Galpin of the United States Department of Agriculture, and I said, "Secretary Galpin, what was the finest thing you saw in Europe?"

He said, "It was a Catholic priest, leading his Catholic cooperatives in a great procession at the dedication of one of the national cathedrals. I haven't seen anything finer since I saw the Mormon

churches with their great public cooperatives out in Utah." "But," I replied, "you, yourself, would not accept that theory for the organization of society." "No," he replied, "the church that I am going to be a member of must trust other institutions."

I would put that as a first thought in this whole idea of a church relationship to society. The church must trust other institutions, it must trust the public schools, it must trust other business organizations, it must not try to carry its organization into society in any way like this. But after I have said that I still go back and say that it is possible for religious groups to work unselfishly for the public welfare. If Chambers of Commerce and Labor Unions can do group thinking why should not churches do so? Why should not Jews and Catholics and Protestants do a kind of thinking which is stronger and even better than individual thinking and make a contribution as groups to the ongrowing progress of American society?

But somebody will say I am talking about a level of life which does not exist for the great mass of human beings. Can one group disarm when the others do not disarm? Deep back in the traditions of all Western religions is the tradition of the suffering servant. The suffering servant was after all just the man who was willing to gain progress, not at the expense of the other fellow—no reforming at the other man's expense is an easy way—but at his own expense. It was the picture of one who was willing to be a candidate for a better type of living even though all he could do was to suffer in the name of it. That tradition lies deeply imbedded in all the Western religions. The religion that is willing to accept that philosophy can have the better day. Back of all there is that picture of a God who sends the rain on the just and the unjust; the picture of a God who does not wait until men are what He wants them to be before He, Himself, takes the initiative in being what He must be. And that is a basic idea in Western religion. We can have the better day if we will take the initiative and pay the cost of it ourselves. There are three ways of treating one who disagrees with you. You can fight him; you can agree with him, or you can take your place beside him until there is evolved something new and creative which is better than that which both have held before.

THE SEMINAR IN MEXICO

by

HUBERT C. HERRING

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America

"THE Seminar in Mexico" is a venture in international understanding. It is a cooperative study of the life and culture of the Mexican people. During the past five years over four hundred men and women, widely representative of many public groups of the United States, have, through the Seminar, met influential Mexican citizens for a discussion of the living forces in Mexican life—cultural, educational, economic.

"The Seminar in Mexico" was launched six years ago as an agency for developing public opinion throughout the United States, making it sensitive to the peculiar genius of the Mexican, appreciative of his artistic and cultural gifts, and concerned with the creation of relations of mutual respect between the peoples of the two republics. The annual program has grown from year to year in significance and interest. Among those who attest the reality of its contribution towards the improvement of our relations with Mexico are Dr. John Dewey, Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Dr. John A. Lapp, President Ada Comstock, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, Judge Florence E. Allen, Dr. Raymond L. Buell, and Father Frederic Siedenburg.

Our relations with Latin America are of fundamental importance, ethically, commercially, culturally. During the next twenty-five years it will be decided whether the peoples of the Americas are to live together in mutual respect and cooperation, or in suspicion and recurrent strife. Mexico furnishes the touchstone whereby our relations to Latin America are to be tested. Mexico is our next neighbor. If our relations with Mexico can be firmly established

upon a basis of mutual appreciation and respect, we shall have gone far toward establishing the enduring peace of the Americas.

The Committee announced the Sixth Annual Session of the Seminar in Mexico held in Mexico City, July 4-24, 1931.

PROGRAM

The program of the Seminar in Mexico extends over a period of three weeks, and is three-fold in scope:

First, the morning conferences. These are planned to furnish a comprehensive survey of the Mexican scene: political, economic, religious, cultural, racial. The addresses serve as an introduction to Mexican life. The majority of the speakers are Mexicans, outstanding in their various interests, members of the Mexican government, professors in the National University, economists, bankers, experts on agrarian developments, education, oil laws, the church, labor, the arts, etc. Among those who have participated during the past five years have been President Plutarco Elias Calles, President Portes Gil, President Ortiz Rubio, Dr. Moises Saenz, Mr. Aaron Saenz, Justice Salvador Urbina, Mr. Luis Morones, Mr. Diego Rivera, Mr. Carlos Merida, and Count René d'Harnoncourt. There are also speakers from the United States. During the past five years these have included Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow, Dr. J. Fred Rippy, Mr. Paul U. Kellogg, Judge Florence E. Allen, Mrs. Mary Austin, and others.

Second, the Round Tables. The round tables afford opportunity, under the leadership of recognized authorities in their respective fields, for the critical analysis of the material presented in the larger conferences, and the frank discussion of controversial questions. Eight sessions will be held of each round table group. These sessions are scheduled for the period 4:00 to 6:00 each day. Each member will enroll for one round table but will have the privilege of visiting other sessions. Many Mexicans join us for these round table discussions.

The list of leaders of round tables for the Sixth Seminar in Mexico includes Judge Florence E. Allen of the Supreme Court of Ohio, Mr. Carleton Beals, author of "Mexico: An Interpretation," etc., Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas, Dr.

Samuel Guy Inman, author of many books on Latin America, Dr. Eyler Simpson of the Institute of Current World Affairs, Dr. Frank Tannenbaum, author of "The Mexican Agrarian Revolution," Rev. R. A. McGowan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Mr. Morris Topchevsky.

The subject for the round tables are tentative, but it is expected that the following will be scheduled:

I. *The Arts and Crafts of Mexico.* This program will include addresses by the outstanding artists of Mexico, visits to their studios, and to churches, museums, etc. This feature of the program is of especial interest because of the significant work which is being done by the artists of Mexico—Diego Rivera, Clemente Orozco and others.

II. *Mexico and the United States.* Leader, Judge Florence E. Allen. A study of some of the points of international strain: the Monroe Doctrine, international debts, immigration, international claims, recognition, intervention, etc.

III. *The New Education in Mexico.* A study of the program of Mexican education. Dr. John Dewey describes this as "in some respects one of the most important social experiments undertaken anywhere in the world." Addresses by Mexican educators. Visits to city and village schools.

IV. *Central American Problems.* A discussion of the present status of our relations with Nicaragua, Guatemala, Costa Rica, etc. This round table will be of particular value to those who plan to take the special field trip to Nicaragua, mentioned in another paragraph.

V. *Industry and Labor in Mexico.* Leader, Dr. Frank Tannenbaum. A discussion of the industrial resources, possibilities and problems of Mexico. The fundamental industries of Mexico—agriculture, mining, textiles, railroads and oil—will be discussed both from the point of view of national and of international economy.

VI. *The History of Mexico.* Leader, Professor Charles W. Hackett. A resumé of the history of Mexico will be given in a special series of lectures. It is probable that this course will be given

at a different hour from the round tables so that all who wish may attend.

VII. *The Flora and Fauna of Mexico.* The leader will be a Mexican scientist. The program will include field trips into the country. Within fifty miles of Mexico City it is possible to study the semi-tropical as well as the temperate zones of flora and fauna. A trip will also be made into the tropics if the members of the group so elect.

VIII. *Social Forces in Mexico.* The present status of public health, penology, the regulation of alcohol, child welfare, etc.

Third, the Field Trips. These are planned for the purpose of introducing the members of the Seminar to typical villages, rural and urban schools, agricultural and industrial experiments and scenes of special archeological and ethnological interest. These visits will, for the most part, be made in small groups.

There will be the following trips: two days in Puebla, Cholula and neighboring villages, with visits to schools, churches, etc.; a two-day trip to Cuernavaca and Taxco; a one-day trip to the Convent of Acolman, the Pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan and the Temple of Quetzalcoatl; a trip on the first Sunday to the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe and to the floating gardens of Xochimilco; a one-day trip to Cuautla, Oaxtepec and neighboring villages.

The twenty-ninth modern movement presented by WORLD UNITY in its department "The World We Live In."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES

by

ELIZABETH W. BASSETT

MR. HUGHES in his address delivered before the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in November 1923, presented an excellent review of our traditional policy of aloofness, the circumstances that brought it into being, and the conditions that encouraged nation-wide adherence to its principles. The memorable words of Washington laid the cornerstone of our foreign policy. "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. It is true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far I mean, as we are now able to do it." Mr. Q. Wright in his "Future of Neutrality" points out that "this warning was neither against general political agreements nor against the use of force; that it left us free to choose peace or war, as our interest guided." We needed to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions. Jefferson, in the same way, laid down the "policy of peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." That the United States should avoid entangling itself in the politics of Europe, thus came to be the first principle of American foreign policy and with it the policy of neutrality, the essence of which is impartiality. As Jefferson stated it "a neutral nation must in all things relating to war, observe an exact impartiality towards the parties; that favors to one to the prejudice of the other would import a fraudulent neutrality of which no nation would be the dupe."

Mr. Wright claims that the "United States thus added moral enthusiasm to its economic interests in developing the law and policy of neutrality." In the long period of peace which followed 1818, the industrial revolution and the rise of trade, made neutrality seem reasonable. In 1823 Monroe's annual message, our policy of neutrality and isolation was continued when he opened it with the words—"In the wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries and make preparation for our defense." In addition Monroe made it clear "that the American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and again, "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system of government to any portion of this Hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Our early difficulties with Cuba and her possible transfer to another European power, as well as those in Hawaii, arising from the encroachments of England, established the precedent of adjusting the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine to meet the exigencies of the time. First, we would under no circumstances permit the exercise of sovereignty over Cuba or Porto Rico by any European power other than Spain; and secondly, the Hawaiian Islands were to be included in the American continents and subject to the protection of the Monroe Doctrine. This latter was indicated by the fact that in 1843 our American minister at London was instructed to protest and to declare that if England attempted to hold the Islands, the United States might be justified even in using force.

With the Roosevelt Corollary we have still a further expansion of the Doctrine, since the Government made it clear that "we do not intend to permit the Monroe Doctrine to be used by any nation on this continent as a shield to protect it from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations." After the Panama project had been launched, Roosevelt strengthened his famous Corollary by adding "that our rights and interests are deeply con-

cerned in the maintenance of the Doctrine; that this is particularly true in view of the construction of the Canal. As a mere matter of self-defense we must exercise a close watch over the approaches of this Canal; and this means that we must be thoroughly alive to our interests in the Caribbean Area." And again, "the adherence of the United States to the Doctrine may force the United States however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of wrongdoing or impotence in the Western Hemisphere, to the exercise of an international police power." In 1912 the Senate by a vote of 51 to 4 added the Asiatic to the European powers in the list of those prohibited from interfering with the Latin American States or introducing their political systems. As these utterances clearly demonstrate, our Government has steadily attempted to bring our traditional policy of isolation within the scope of the Monroe Doctrine by making the latter so elastic as to cover any emergency that may arise in this Hemisphere. Mr. Hughes however has steadfastly refused the aid of the Doctrine to justify our many acts of intervention in the little countries to the south of us, by declaring that this policy is "distinct from the mere principle of exclusion set forth in the Doctrine," though it "constitutes a fitting compliment."

Our policy of abstention followed the same course when dealing with world matters outside of the Western Hemisphere. In 1899 and again in 1907, the American reservation to the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, expressed the same insistence when it stated that "nothing contained in this Convention shall be so construed as to require the United States to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or international administration of any foreign state; nor shall anything contained in the said Convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions." Wilson's Proclamation of Neutrality issued August 1914 also emphasized this point, by listing all acts forbidden to belligerents under the international law of neutrality and closing with the words; that any such acts "must be regarded as unfriendly and offensive, and in violation of that neutrality which it is the

determination of this Government to observe." When however we read Wilson's address delivered April 1917 at the joint session of Congress, calling for war against Germany, we sense a departure from the usual course. In part he said "Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace of that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances."

As we approach the years 1918-1920, we have reached the turning of the ways. These years brought home to a war-torn peoples a despair productive of a dangerous spiritual apathy. It was into this atmosphere that Wilson and his colleagues brought their plan whereby "a union of wills in a common purpose, a union of wills which cannot be resisted," was to be created. To appreciate the solemnity and the conviction which Wilson wove into this work, we need but read some of his statements urging upon all peoples the importance of the League. At an open discussion on the League of Nations held January 1919, he said—"The League is necessary to make the settlements that have been rendered necessary by this war and also to secure the peace of the world. We are representatives of peoples, not of governments. It is a solemn obligation to make permanent arrangements that justice shall be rendered and peace maintained. Only the watchful, continuous cooperation of men can see to it that science as well as armed men, is kept within the harness of civilization. We must concert our best judgment in order to make this League a vital thing, and that its continuity should be a vital continuity. The representatives of the United States support this great project for a league. We regard it as the keystone of the whole program. If we returned to the United States without having made every effort in our power to realize this program, we should return to meet the merited scorn of our fellow citizens." How convinced he was that the American people supported these ideas! "I have no more doubt of the verdict of America in this matter than I have doubt of the blood that is in

me." He continued—"If America were at this juncture to fail the world, what would become of it? The results would be unthinkable. All nations would be set up, as hostile camps again; men at the peace conference would know that they had failed, for they were bidden not to come home from there, until they had done something more than sign the treaty of peace. The first thing I am going to tell the people on the other side of the water, is that an overwhelming majority of the American people is in favor of the League. I know that it is true." Unfortunately but inevitably, the affections and hatreds of bitter partisanship were injected into the discussions of this international issue. The traditional policy of abstention, the "fearsome aloofness" as Bassett calls it, stalked in the background. This League would involve America in European entanglements; it would erect a superstate; it would invade domestic interests; it would impose moral obligations on our government to take part in the disturbances, conflicts, and settlements, and wars of Europe and of Asia; and it would lay the same obligation on other countries to concern themselves in the affairs of this Hemisphere. Wilson's heroic trip through the West in September of 1919 to bring home to the American people his deepfelt convictions, showed in vivid contrast the ever increasing opposition he was facing. It mattered not that he emphasized over and over again "that the League was not a superstate since there was no compulsion upon us to take the advice of the Council, except the compulsion of our good judgment and conscience; and that there could be no advice of the Council on any subject without a unanimous vote and this vote included our own and if we accepted this advice, we would be accepting our own." The incorporation of Article 21 to safeguard the Monroe Doctrine did not satisfy. The fact that the Covenant included the machinery for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice brought forth no favorable response; even though Congress in its Naval Appropriation Bill of 1915, had declared it to be the policy of the United States to bring about a general disarmament by common agreement and the President of the United States was requested to call a conference not later than the close of the then present war for the purpose of

consulting and agreeing upon a plan for a permanent court of international justice. Even though Lodge, probably Wilson's strongest antagonist, had declared in 1915 that "nations must unite as men unite in order to preserve peace and order; that the great nations must be so united as to be able to say to the single country—'You must not go to war'—and they can say that effectively, when the country desiring war knows that the force which the united nations place behind peace is irresistible; that differences between nations that go beyond the limited range of arbitral questions, peace can only be maintained by putting behind it the force of united nations determined to uphold it and to prevent war;" his relentless opposition continued without let or hindrance. On March 19, 1920, the Treaty failed a second time to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority; the vote was 49 to 35. The die was cast.

(*To be continued*)

SCHOOL BOYS' AND GIRLS' WORLD FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

by

MARIA WOLTERS

Founder

THE progress of the League of Nations and its future usefulness in contributing to human welfare, depends largely on the ideals we instil into our children concerning their attitude toward the people of other nations and races.

While in times past it was the privilege of a very few to become world-minded, through travel or exceptional culture, in this age we have the means of building the international attitude in the masses. Everyone can understand and appreciate the importance of world unity for the relief of the present depression, even those who are not interested in political problems and unresponsive to spiritual truth.

My contact with schools in the United States and throughout Europe has brought great encouragement in that the younger generation is awakening to a new and larger consciousness.

During my travels in Europe last year I found the school children eager to receive the message of goodwill from American children. The letters I carried from school boys and girls were joyfully read, and in every country the young people were anxious for me to carry letters from them to the young people in foreign lands. The teachers caught their students' enthusiasm for the work of international goodwill, and felt a new spirit of hope in the hardships they suffer as the result of the world crisis.

In explaining the activities of the School Boys' and Girls' World Friendship League, I always mentioned the love felt by the people of America for them, and America's hope that the burden

of armament and the fear of war can be lifted from the human race. The heads of schools joined with their pupils in requesting me to bring back to America the assurance of their intention to strive for this goal. I can realize how much President Hoover's recent proposal for a moratorium will deepen the friendliness of the common people throughout Europe for "Uncle Sam."

One of the most popular activities of the League is in arranging correspondence between children in different countries. So many young people are ready to "make friends" in this way. In Ireland, Holland and other countries they even stopped me in the street to ask questions about children in other countries, and to learn more about sports, aeronautics, radio and other things.

I wish that every leader could have witnessed the outburst of enthusiasm in every school where I exhibited the friendship book containing the signatures of Ramsay Macdonald, Stresemann and Briand. A vast reservoir of power is being created in the hearts of boys and girls to reinforce the efforts of statesmen to bring about peace!

From thousands of letters I can only quote a few brief words.

"The messages from school girls in other parts of the world gave us much pleasure. We should like ours to go along with theirs." (London). "We are very happy to know that these lines will be transmitted to all and we hope that they will bring you a bit of the great pleasure that the messages of English and American girls gave us." (Brussels). "We are pleased to send our hearty greetings of friendship to all the school boys and girls in the world." (Paris). "It is a grand idea that girls and boys of all nations should try to become acquainted by correspondence not only for the fun of having friends round about in the world but also to form a sort of sisterly union in the generation now growing up to hold together in spite of politics." (Vienna). "Today we heard for the first time of this great movement, the School Boys' and Girls' World Friendship League. We too have a great interest in exchanging our thoughts. Our ways of thinking are so different that we can only become closely acquainted through sincere correspondence." (Zurich).

ECONOMIC WORLD WELFARE

VI. THE PROGRESS AND ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

by

AMOS STOTE

Publicist, Paris, France

BIRTH. Growth. Strength. These can not be used as a measure of worthy accomplishment in appraising the value of most institutions. Mere physical size is not necessarily commendable. Bulk and visibility are not essential measurements of quality. This is especially true of organizations devoted to material gain. But there are exceptions to be found, and these are illustrated by certain types of organizations. One such is the International Chamber of Commerce. The fact that many of the nations of the earth have shown themselves ready to join in cooperative effort devoted to world progress; that these nations, through their commercial leaders, agree to lay aside their struggles to gain unfair advantages over each other; such achievement, if only expressed and published, is an accomplishment of which this age may be justly proud.

So we find there are three basic achievements of note which must be credited to the International Chamber of Commerce before consideration of its specific achievements can be given full appreciation. The fact of its existence comes far in the lead. The fact that practical business men of great experience and vast interests were convinced the world was ready for an organization which would give precedence to universal betterment founded on economics, and that these men were ready to devote themselves to the promotion of this movement, will stand as the greatest commercial achievement of this age.

Men of five industrial and highly developed nations, nations which had been among the most zealous of flag worshippers, the most jealous of their national supremacy, merged their ideals for world progress and submerged their national suspicions and rivalries, to create the International Chamber of Commerce. War had failed. Cooperation was to be given its opportunity.

The second basic achievement to be credited to this organization is the remarkable growth it has experienced in eleven years. From nothing but a hope and a desire in the hearts of a few men this institution has become, in a very literal sense, an international operation. It has fulfilled the promise of its name. Its membership girdles the world.

Then comes power. Too often power has proved a menace. Too often strength has defeated economic progress. Such is not the case with the International Chamber of Commerce. Its power is advisory. Its strength lies in the quality of its ability to analyze, formulate and present. It eschews all forms of force, pressure and privilege. No threat, no insinuation, no least suggestion of intimidation, is ever concealed in its proposals, recommendations and resolutions. Its power rests in its ability to assemble and use many of the best technical brains of the world in considering world economic problems.

So much for the basic achievements of the International Chamber of Commerce. Now for something of the work it has done. Many of its accomplishments are difficult to define. Many of its greatest results can not be measured. Such as bringing together men of importance and position from fifty nations in conferences, discussions and debates. These men, in their study of world affairs must study each other's qualities, each other's habits of thought and action, each other's national economic questions.

However, many of the considerations involving the talents of the International Chamber are intensely practical, and of such there appears in the fore-front its progress relating to bringing international uniformity into the vexed and tangled affairs of bills of lading. Something of the confusion existing in this direction has been tersely expressed by Charles S. Haight in his address before

the Swedish National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce on August 9, 1929:

"In the last eight years the foreign trade of the world has amounted to, I suppose, about 360 billion dollars. In other words, since 1921 this foreign trade has been equal to about $350. or $400. for every minute of the Christian era, and practically every cargo so shipped has been covered by a bill of lading—the biggest of all the world enterprises. When we started our work every country in the world had a different law; every steamship company had a different form of bill of lading and some companies had a dozen different forms."

"Since 1921 much real progress has been made. England, Belgium, Italy," Mr. Haight goes on to tell, have passed laws; associations of shippers, ship owners, transport companies and bankers have all supported the International Chamber's efforts, and the time is in sight when bills of lading will be standardized throughout most of the world.

Another undertaking of the International Chamber of Commerce has been the preparation of a digest of trade terms, where as great chaos existed as in the matter of bills of lading, and where the suits, misunderstandings and losses resulting from such confusion were possibly even greater. The situation was not relieved by the fact that each country might have very clear interpretations of these trade terms within its own territory. This clear cut domestic understanding but added to the exporter's burdens when he discovered that each country to which he shipped had different interpretations of these terms. While the Chamber is still working on this proposition it has already tabulated the trade terms definitions for more than thirty-five countries, and published them in two editions.

The involved problem of double taxation which has been up for solution by the League of Nations has been one of the concerns of the International Chamber and it has been of material service to the League in this connection. International industrial statistics, the need of which and the use of which have been so distressingly emphasized by the world slump, have been one of the interests of the Chamber since its inception. The work it has done in an effort

to give the economic world a picture of itself, and thereby of its weaknesses, has amply demonstrated the fact that without such data industry and commerce and banking are working in a darkness which is always dangerous. Business must know what is being done in each line of endeavor, all over the world, if it is to avoid overproduction and recurrent disasters. To aid business in securing such information is perhaps the greatest of the Chamber's ambitions.

One might say the first need of trade is transportation. To this end we have been told of the motor car and its ability and how it has been instrumental in the development of navigable highways all over the world. But the International Chamber saw that was not enough. Commerce must know where the highways are, what they are like, how they are operated and controlled, their length and traffic. The International Chamber has made a world survey of this subject and has been able to secure and publish detailed information relating to roads and their uses in sixty countries.

Most of us know the great Danube River as the inspiration for some popular dance music; but there is a group of jealous, suspicious nations which know it as their chief burden bearer of passenger and freight traffic. Between them the famous old river was having a hard time maintaining its former usefulness. The situation has been concisely explained by Sir John Sandeman Allen, under whose chairmanship the committee of the International Chamber of Commerce in charge of this problem brought peace to the Danube:

"As a result of the war, which involved the creation of new States and the realignment of old States on the banks of the Danube, the customs and other regulations established at a time when nationalist feeling was running very high, created very serious barriers to through international trade and materially affected the value of the Danube as a great international highway besides injuring the trade of the various nations concerned."

That was the situation when the League of Nations made an attempt to clear up the affair. It was also the state when various commissions appointed by the countries interested made their efforts. It continued to be the status of affairs when the International

Chamber of Commerce took up the work as a business proposition, and settled matters to suit all concerned, so that the ten nations which were party to the final agreement were all satisfied.

Now we come to the greatest achievement of the International Chamber of Commerce since its birth. A great advance in world peace and harmony. A great advance in economic world trade. I refer to its Court of Arbitration and the accomplishments of that institution. The costs, delays, the breaking of business relationships, the creation of bitterness, the being subjected to injustice and discrimination resulting from law suits; these camp followers of foreign trade have kept many concerns from going into export and have caused others to suffer from unfair practices rather than go to law in quest of their rights as they see them.

The International Chamber of Commerce saw this barrier in the path of world peace and progress, and set up its Court of Arbitration. The results which have been obtained are almost beyond belief. Hundreds of cases have been voluntarily submitted to it by the mutual consent of both parties. Every nationality on the earth has been represented in one or another of these arbitration settlements. From the Free City of Danzig to Siam, from the little Duchy of Luxemburg to Palestine, from the Sudan to Syria, the cases have come. All manner of cases. Settled for a few dollars of expense because the arbitrators serve without pay and are experts chosen for their specialized ability in each instance; and because they give unbiased verdicts.

Much more should be told of the achievements of the International Chamber of Commerce. Much more will be told as time goes on and business men learn more of the indivisible interdependence which exists between world trade and world progress. As has been wisely said: "The cause of trade depressions is due to the fact that commercial science has not kept pace with industrial science."

Production is a matter of facts. Trade is a matter of minds. The will to buy and consume must at least equal the will to produce. Great as has been the progress of the International Chamber of Commerce, greater achievements are before it.

(Concluded)

IS WORLD CITIZENSHIP VISIONARY?

by

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Attorney

WE have written three articles on different phases of world citizenship and the reaction to them, so far as we are able to ascertain, is that theoretically world citizenship offers a superior peace plan, but it is visionary and highly impractical, because it would take generations to accomplish. Furthermore, the advocates of present day peace plans, respectively, still believe they are headed in the right direction, that reasonable progress is being made and that they will much sooner achieve success.

This brings us to realize that we have failed to properly interpret The Federalist to the minds of our readers, because as we read Hamilton and Madison, The Federalist establishes not only that World Citizenship is superior to the League and associated peace plans, but it is ample authority for the thesis that the associated League plans are all headed in the wrong direction and are doomed to failure. There is a wholesome doctrine that where a duty is laid on a person or institution, it may be assumed that those imposing the duty gave at least an implied authority to perform that duty. This is another way of saying "for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." People do not stop to realize that the League provides ample power,—implied if you will,—for the Assembly and the Council to go ahead and take action in India today, they could have intervened between Russia and China, they could have intervened to prevent the Moroccan War. If their first admonitions were not

heeded, economic or other sanctions would follow, if the spirit of the League Covenant were the guide. We think it is fair to say, without fear of contradiction, that had the implied power to act in these cases been made more specific in the Covenant of the League, it would have made no difference in results. May we not well say that there was and is no need for Locarno, for Arbitration Treaties, for the Kellogg Pact, even the World Court, while convenient, is not essential, since by becoming members of the League, the nations lay on themselves the duty of submitting in good faith to all its processes, of full and candid cooperation in the face of any threatened danger, of cheerful submission to arbitration whenever the issue arises, and like cheerful submission to the award, whether favorable or not. In all these respects the League follows its prototype, the Articles of Confederation, although the language of the Covenant may not be quite so explicit as the language of the Articles, yet if there were the spirit to obey, the language would make no difference. Thus we contend there is virtually no difference between the power of the Continental Congress under the Articles and the power of the Assembly and the Council under the Covenant of the League, and the Federalist doctrines apply equally to both. The quotations from The Federalist that follow are culled from No. XXIII and No. XXXVIII, they are mercilessly cut to fit our space, but our opponents are welcome to any comfort they can derive from reading the full text.

"Whether there ought to be a federal government intrusted with the care of the common defense, is a question in the first instance, open for discussion; but the moment it is decided in the affirmative, it will follow, that that government ought to be clothed with all the powers requisite to complete execution of its trust.

"Defective as the present Confederation has been proved to be, this principle seems to have been fully recognized by the framers of it; though they have not made proper or adequate provision for its exercise. Congress have an unlimited discretion to make requisitions of men and money; to govern the army and navy; to direct their operations. As their requisitions are made constitutionally binding upon the States, who are in fact under the most solemn

obligations to furnish the supplies required of them, the intention evidently was that the United States should command whatever resources were by them judged requisite to the 'common defense and general welfare.' It was presumed that a sense of their true interests, and a regard to the dictates of good faith, would be found sufficient pledges for the punctual performance of the duty of the members to the federal head.

"The experiment has, however, demonstrated that this expectation was ill-founded and illusory; and the observations, made under the last head, will, I imagine, have sufficed to convince the impartial and discerning, that there is an absolute necessity for an entire change in the first principles of the system; that if we are in earnest about giving the Union energy and duration, we must abandon the vain project of legislating upon the States in their collective capacities; we must extend the laws of the federal government to the individual citizens of America. Shall the Union be constituted the guardian of the common safety? Not to confer a degree of power commensurate to the end, would be to violate the most obvious rules of prudence and propriety, and improvidently to trust the great interests of the nation to hands which are disabled from managing them with vigor and success. Is there not a manifest inconsistancy in devolving upon the federal government the care of the general defense, and leaving in the State governments the *effective* powers by which it is to be provided for? Is not a want of cooperation the infallible consequence of such a system? And will not weakness, disorder, an undue distribution of the burdens and calamities of war, an unnecessary and intolerable increase of expense, be its natural and inevitable concomitants? Have we not had unequivocal experience of its effects in the course of the revolution which we have just accomplished?

"Every view we may take of the subject, as candid inquirers after truth, will serve to convince us, that it is both unwise and dangerous to deny the federal government an unconfined authority, as to all those objects which are intrusted to its management. A government, the constitution of which renders it unfit to be trusted with all the powers which a free people *ought to delegate to any*

government, would be an unsafe and improper depositary of the *national interests.* Wherever *these* can with propriety be confided, the coincident powers may safely accompany them.

"Is it not manifest that most of the capital objections urged against the new system lie with tenfold weight against the existing Confederation? Is an indefinite power to raise money dangerous in the hands of the federal government? The present Congress can make requisitions to any amount they please, and the States are constitutionally bound to furnish them; they can emit bills of credit as long as they will pay for the paper; they can borrow, both abroad and at home, as long as a shilling will be lent. Is an indefinite power to raise troops dangerous? The Confederation gives to Congress that power also; and they have already begun to make use of it. Is it improper and unsafe to intermix the different powers of government in the same body of men? Congress, a single body of men, are the sole depository of all the federal powers. Is it particularly dangerous to give the keys of the treasury, and the command of the army, into the same hands? The Confederation places them both in the hands of Congress. Is a bill of rights essential to liberty? The Confederation has no bill of rights.

"I shall be told, that however dangerous this mixture of powers may be in theory, it is rendered harmless by the dependence of Congress on the State for the means of carrying them into practice; that however large the mass of powers may be, it is in fact a lifeless mass. Then, say I, in the first place, that the Confederation is chargeable with the still greater folly of declaring certain powers in the federal government to be absolutely necessary, and at the same time rendering them absolutely nugatory; and, in the next place, that if the Union is to continue, and no better government be substituted, effective powers must either be granted to, or assumed by, the existing Congress."

It is our endeavor not to assert our unsupported opinion on any phase of world citizenship. So here we believe we have the support of The Federalist in arguing "that it is both unwise and dangerous" to deny any new international peace institution "an unconfined authority as to all those objects which are intrusted to its management:

* * that there is an absolute necessity for an entire change in the first principles of the system; that if we are in earnest about giving the Union energy and duration, we must abandon the vain project of legislating upon the States in their collective capacities; we must extend the laws of federal government to the individual citizens," and this is what we mean by World Citizenship.

We believe our colonial history likewise establishes that World Citizenship is not visionary, indeed, that it might well come within our lifetime. Surely its prototype, United States Citizenship came suddenly, without any recognized backing of public opinion and unless one today has the effrontery to assume that 1931 is inferior to 1787 World Citizenship may come soon, should come soon. Do we really believe "there were giants in those days" in the presence of whom our leading statesmen would be as pygmies in training and intellect? Between 1781 and 1787 were the intelligentsia showing their desire for cooperation by inventing and ardently supporting Locarnos, Compulsory Arbitration, Disarmament, the Settlement of War Debts, World Courts, the codification of International Law, Outlawry and like measures by which the desire for peace may be measured, even though none of these plans go to the root of the trouble according to Federalist doctrine? Do we believe the common people of 1931 in America and in Europe are less wise, less educated, less interested in peace and good government, less willing to cooperate than in 1787 were the common people of America, one third of whom, according to McLaughlin, were royalists? It is true the common people failed to support any of the peace plans of that day till they were offered the only sound one; but in this respect the common people of today are showing the same discernment, they are rejecting like half measures and palliatives, like *imperium in imperio* forms of government and so far have not been offered a like sound plan based on "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government," or a plan sponsored by any historical authority. We boldly assert there are no historical authorities that will support any present day peace plans, that all history and constitutional law bearing on these problems condemn

these peace plans as dangerous. Why is it visionary to discard a dangerous plan for a sound plan?

In one chapter entitled "Amendments to Articles," McLaughlin shows there were ten or more attempts to amend the Articles in some way or other to give Congress more power over the states, or, as some people might call it "more sovereignty." Of these ten attempts, three originated in the Congress, two asked for power to impose and collect some sort of a tax and the third asked for power to pass navigation laws to be effective for a period of fifteen years. When sent to the states for acceptance Rhode Island defeated one revenue law, New York the other, while the navigation amendment found a general lack of support in the south. The other seven attempts to amend the Articles originated in committees of Congress or in State Legislatures and Congress either refused or neglected to act on them, except one recommended by the general court of Massachusetts and sent to their delegates in Congress who promptly refused to submit it. McLaughlin ably analyzes the public attitude towards these amendments. "Supposing that the cleverest adjustment of powers, the most accurate assignment of authority, was at last discovered, what security would there be that the states would regard the system, play their parts, and abide by their obligations? Could any method be found for making certain the power of the central authority to perform the duties bestowed upon it? Could this be done without destroying the states as political entities or reducing them to mere districts? If a system could be found which did not involve the destruction of the states, which preserved an equitable distribution of authority between the center and the parts, the great problem of imperial organization had found a solution." Thus we see that 1787 had no better appreciation of the problem before them than has 1931. However, we should note that 1931 does have one thing of supreme importance that will give impetus to any attempt to establish World Citizenship; 1931 has the benefit of 141 years successful experience with an imperial government based on "the persons of the citizens—the only proper objects of government." Should World Citizenship become an issue in the near future its advocates can point to The Federalist as authority

based on logic, sound reasoning and history. If the common people of that day, without our modern means of communication and travel, with no agenda prepared in the public mind for the step and without any historical example to support the logic of Madison and Hamilton, formulated and finally adopted this World Citizenship within three years, why should the issue be declared desperate, why should World Citizenship be called visionary today?

But we are admonished to consider the difference between the 13 colonies of 1780 and the 56 nations of today, the argument being that the 13 states were so similar in language, and institutions that they could more easily coalesce than the nations today. This may be true if all the world must join as charter members. We feel all the 13 states then were progressive, self-governing nations and true self-government should remain as the pre-requisite to charter membership. We do not care to discuss what division among the nations of the world, this would lead to, but the door should be left open for other nations to join. On this question of the similarity of the 13 states, what did Dean Tucker of Glocester, think? "As to the future grandeur of America, and its being a rising empire under one head, whether republican or monarchical, it is one of the idlest and most visionary notions that ever was conceived even by writers of romance. The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their differences of governments, habitudes, and manners, indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries, by the great bays of the sea, and by vast rivers, lakes, and ridges of mountains." Did the colonial controversies over Vermont, over the abortive state of Franklin, and over Wyoming, or the experiences with the Barbary pirates indicate a readiness to cooperate for peace? Has the Council or the Assembly of the League been driven from Geneva as the Continental Congress was driven from Philadelphia? Were the 13 states so small that news travelled to Congress daily and hourly and from Congress

to each city and to Europe and Asia daily and hourly? Was United States so small that a man could travel from Boston to Philadelphia over night while asleep or in less than three hours if in a hurry? Could he travel from California to New York in less than fifteen hours, or from New York to Paris in less than 34 hours? Could the delegates at Philadelphia call up their wives on the telephone, or London or Paris? Listen to John Fiske. "In our time the persons who pass in a single day between New York and Boston by six or seven distinct lines of railroad and steamboat are numbered by thousands. In 1783 two stagecoaches were enough for all the travellers, and nearly all the freight besides, that went between the two cities, except such large freight as went by sea around Cape Cod. The journey began at three o'clock in the morning. Horses were changed every twenty miles, and if the roads were in good condition some forty miles would be made by ten o'clock in the evening. In bad weather, when the passengers had to get down and lift the clumsy wheels out of deep ruts, the progress was much slower. After a week or ten days of discomfort and danger the jolted and jaded traveller reached New York." How many tons of shipping cleared from one state for another state in 1787 compared to the tonnage today between the progressive, self-governing nations of the world? How many tourists visited back and forth between the south and the north? Did the common people travel *a la* tin-can-tourist? What was the extent of business carried on "exterritorially" compared with today? Would not one of our large modern steamships load the total annual interstate ocean tonnage and total number of passengers for one trip? In 1787 what industries of any state had established plants in other states on any such scale as in 1931 has been done by Ford Motor Co., General Motors, The Spool Cotton Co., large chemical, electric and oil companies? How many billions of investments did any one state have in any other state? How much traffic did the Panama Canal handle? How much tin, manganese, vanadium, chrome nickle, tungsten, rubber, shellac, jute, sisal, paper and pulp was traded in between the states? In regard to birth origins, the 13 states may have had as large a proportion of European born inhabitants then as we have now, but

how many inhabitants of New England were born in southern states and vice-versa? In view of all these facts, was not the actual daily intercourse between the states small and insignificant to the present intercourse between the leading nations of the world? Was not their need of cooperation necessarily meager compared with the need today? If American citizenship has been largely responsible for transforming these colonial conditions into our 1931 economic and industrial development in U. S. what would a like citizenship do for the world in the next 140 years? Can we afford longer to follow a will-o'-the-wisp like the one that in 1787 proved to be both "unwise and dangerous?"

There are other historical facts, however, that impress us as of even greater probative significance. Why was the call for the Philadelphia Convention first drafted by another unsuccessful convention at Annapolis and sent to Congress? Why was this Annapolis report sent also to all the 13 states direct? Did it look as if the agenda for this convention was carefully worked out when Hamilton's address or report at Annapolis stated the purpose of the Philadelphia Convention in this broad, general language? "To devise *such further provisions* as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose, to the United States in Congress assembled, as when agreed to by them and afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state, will effectually provide for the same." Why did not Hamilton draft a call specifically authorizing the convention to make a new constitution and submit it? Why did Congress in October 1786 refuse to sanction this Annapolis recommendation? Early in 1787 why did Madison induce the Virginia legislature, in response to the recommendation sent them direct from Annapolis, to appoint their commissioners to the Philadelphia Convention? Also why did New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina and Delaware follow the example of Virginia and appoint their commissioners to the Philadelphia Convention in the face of this refusal of the Continental Congress to approve recommendation? Why afterwards was this Annapolis recommendation brought up in Congress

and instead of being approved, why was an independent call for a convention at the same time and place issued? Why did this belated Congressional call declare the convention was "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to by Congress and confirmed by the states, render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union?" Why did Madison need devote Number XL of the Federalist solely to the question, "whether the Convention were authorized to frame and propose this mixed Constitution?"

We thus see that the chief opposition to the salvation of the Union was in the ranks of the institution to be displaced by the new imperial organization. They had such political supremacy that Hamilton and Madison were forced to use a quorumless convention to issue the call and even then dared not disclose in the language of the call, the radical measures they sought to employ. They plainly courted the support of Congress but gained it grudgingly only by showing their ability to have commissioners appointed in five states without Congressional sanction. Further, when Congress did take action, it was clearly aimed at limiting the work of the Convention and retaining a veto for the Continental Congress and every State Legislature.

This antagonism between the high ranking officials of the existing order and the Convention is also apparent in the action of the Convention in making all its proceedings secret and in forbidding its members to publish reports of its work and debates. In other words, the Convention did not feel like trusting this reform to the public opinion of that day. The recent book, "The Rise of American Civilization," by Beard does not disclose that the new Constitution and the new American citizenship was demanded by the public opinion of that day any more than a new World Constitution and World Citizenship is demanded by the public opinion of today. Beard, like other historians, also points out that fear of the State Legislatures and of the Continental Congress caused the Convention to depart from their explicit instructions in two partic-

ulars, by providing that the Constitution should be ratified, not by the Legislatures of the 13 states but by special conventions, also by providing that it should become effective when ratified by two-thirds instead of by all the states, thus going over the heads of the established government in an appeal to the common people.

This was a daring thing to do, if we may believe Beard, since he points out that the Convention had no particular following among the common people.

"Intense as it was, the excitement that marked the struggle did not bring out the avalanche of voters to express their opinion at the polls. From the fragmentary figures that are available, it appears that not more than one fourth of the adult white males in the country voted one way or the other in the elections at which delegates to the state ratifying conventions were chosen."

Today we feel that it is dangerous to wait till fickle public opinion, led and chastened by modern journalism, expresses national righteousness so unerringly and forcibly that the jingo and the pacifist, like the lion and the lamb, lie down together. Unless our type of self-governing peoples can produce leaders with the dynamic intellectual honesty and courage of Hamilton and Madison, of Washington and Franklin, some Soviet or Fascist leader is likely to smear our picture.

In view of all this history, why does the League advocate stigmatize the advocate of World Citizenship as a radical, a dreamer, a visionary? Why not rather a plagiarist, if you please, a Hamiltonian Federalist? We maintain that the advocate of World Citizenship is the conservative. He might be called a reactionary, one who ignores recent political progress, who harks back to old ideas, to tried plans of stable established institutions, anything but a radical. Surely from the point of view of 1789, the League advocate is the dreamer of dreams of the millenium, the formulator of plans defying experience and the perversities of human nature, and more, the one who lacks the courage to meet the issue.

RELIGION AND THE MODERN AGE

by

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CHINA

WHILE other religions and cultures may idle at the task of making adjustment to the new age, China is being forced to fundamental and revolutionary changes. The leaders of China are being compelled to do in a generation what the West has not yet succeeded in doing after more than a century, that is, they are making in a period of twenty-five years a complete transformation of the intellectual, political, social, economic and consequently of the religious past of this ancient land.

The traditional world view of China was naturalistic. The intellectuals never were attracted to the other worldly supernaturalism of the foreign religions. Buddhism and its Chinese imitation in popular Taoism, made a strong appeal to the folk. The literati were this worldly, naturalistic, humanistic. Now that all religions are facing the challenge of modern science and the social problems of the new industry, the young intellectuals of the Renaissance find themselves perfectly at home in a humanistic, scientific naturalism. They are apprehensive of the word "religion" because it has the flavor of supernaturalism. This was the meaning of the anti-religion movement.

Dr. Timothy Lew reports that the leaders have told the people, that the rational life, following the principles of science, working for the good of the whole, with eyes wide open to the problems of the present—this constitutes the best philosophy of life. Fortunately China has found youthful, idealistic leaders consecrated to the task of opening the way to the better age for the millions. Consciously, with fine courage, they face staggering problems—the

humanizing of the colossus of industrialism made more threatening by the vested interests and selfish economic imperialism of the West; the education of the masses; the task of releasing the clinging hands of customs reaching from an ancient but now dead past; the winning of traditional religions to the larger social vision; the organization of society to guarantee the values of the higher life. Their ideal culminates in the transcendence of narrow nationalism with its accompanying militarism and the attainment of an internationalism of cooperating nations in a world at peace.

The hope of modern religion lies with these young people equipped with scientific method and inspired by democratic ideals. Across the boundaries of race, religion and nationality they are united in a common quest with the religious idealists of all the modern world.

Buddhism is renewing its life; syncretistic movements seek to salvage the values of the old; the whole social structure is being oriented to the ideas and ideals of the new age.

India

The task of religious leadership as it appears to the best of India's liberals is that of getting rid of the crushing quietism, the deadening poverty, the helpless illiteracy of the masses, of reorganizing the social order to make impossible the constant economic distress, by scientific agriculture and by securing control for the people of their own resources for their own needs; of winning freedom from foreign exploitation; especially the awakening of the people to a pride in their past and a hope of a still more glorious future.

India is being called to take the spiritual leadership of the world by achieving the task of mastery of material civilization, winning the triumph of spiritual values over mechanism, winning the victory moreover not by force but by soul power, not for India alone but for all the world. Such a program means a religion of the future radically different in practice from the Hinduism of the past. At the same time it carries the consistent emphasis upon the spiritual which has been always the heart of all Indian systems. The

success of modern liberalism will depend upon the ability of the leaders to guide the established complex of customs into a new social organization which will embody the values of the modern vision. The various sections of Hinduism are challenged by the task.

Here is one striking difference between the modern movements of Hinduism and the traditional religions of the land—they are concerned with the needs of man in this world. Hinduism of the past gave up the effort to find the good life on earth and went beyond time to the Eternal. All modern movements, even those of the conservative wing, deal with the problems of woman's rights and opportunities, with the welfare of children, with economic issues, with social problems in their manifold forms. The reinterpretations of orthodoxy, the Theosophic movement, the atheistic groups are widely different in philosophic ideas from the revolutionary movements aligned in the quest of Swaraj—but all agree in concentrating attention on human needs and hopes.

Judaism

Through more than two thousand years the groups of Jews dispersed among the nations of the world have been sustained by a great hope—the eventual realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. They read the meaning of world history in terms of the working out of the will of God in time and assumed that Israel had been chosen as the special servant of God to suffer and to labor that the ideal era of world history might be realized. So long as the walls of separation kept them apart from sharing fully in the cultural life of the nations in which they dwelt, so long as the synagogue and the law provided for them an enfolding culture of their own, they were safe and distinctive in their Judaism.

But now the Ghetto walls are down. Their is neither physical nor cultural separation between the Jews and their fellow-citizens. This has created the problem of Judaism. The problem is how to maintain Judaism under modern conditions. It is especially difficult because in Judaism there is no orthodoxy of creed. The orthodoxy is in behavior and it is in the social and individual behavior patterns that the modern world makes its most powerful impact. Hence

the problem of Judaism is—how to live in two civilizations at once. Jews must be completely citizens of the modern world and if they are not to be completely assimilated and lost to Judaism they must be at the same time bearers of the traditional cultural heritage of Israel.

Orthodoxy theoretically stands firm on the divine revelation of the Torah. But actually in practice orthodoxy is yielding to the demands of the social environment. This is change in actuality and rigid orthodoxy in theory. Reform Judaism has thrown overboard all the weight of the ancient law code, come to terms with modern thought, often repudiated nationalism and so become very much like another denominational group of Christianity. In 1920 Rabbi Hirsh of Chicago, said: "Ten years and there will be no difference between Liberal Judaism and Liberal Christianity."

The Conservative Group protest against the attitude of Reform because they feel that it means assimilation. Conservative Judaism is orthodoxy aware of the problem of Judaism and trying to meet it. The leaders of this section are interested in preserving Jewish culture and are therefore ardent Zionists. The most aggressive leaders of Conservatism, Professor Kaplan and Rabbi Goldman, are thoroughgoing humanists in thought and social idealists in program but devoted to the preservation of Judaism as the continuing cultural heritage of the Jewish race. They are Reconstructionists.

Palestine is becoming the great center of unity. Here Jewish culture and civilization may have a chance. Consequently many Reform Jews are now joining with the Orthodox and Conservative in the Zionist ideal.

Christianity

The Western world is now eating the bitter fruit of the refusal of Christianity to make adjustment to the new era of civilization which began with the Renaissance. Not since the fourteenth century has there been a synthesis of all phases of life in the unity of a religious ideal. Since that time the factors which make the civilization in which the life of man is lived have one by one broken free from the control of religious idealism. Science, philosophy,

politics, education, art, and business have, each in its own way and time, been emancipated from the control and guidance of a religious leadership which refused to abandon the obsolete and outgrown past. Yet science, politics and business make the world of fact in which man gropes helplessly seeking the good life.

The new civilization of the age of applied science and industry has been created without any consciousness of a religious vision or any consecration to the ideal of making a good world in which the values of the worthful life for the millions might be realized. An age which has more knowledge, better tools and greater power than any age of the past, through lack of religious leadership, finds itself tangled in a net of evils that menace not only man's happiness but civilization itself. Christian leaders are now becoming aware of the necessity of harnessing science, material power and the machine to the service of the higher life of mankind.

The conflict of fundamentalism and modernism is a passing episode. It does not touch the real issues of modern religion. The effort of modernist theologians to save a medieval theology by rationalizing and reinterpreting is mere verbalism and futility. It is not natural science only which challenges the thought forms of the past, the social and religious sciences have given an entirely different interpretation of religion in its long history. The quest of man for the good life in an unconquered planet is the heart of religion. Supernaturalism and other worldliness were the result of the defeat of that quest in the ages when man had neither the knowledge nor the technique adequate to win his values in this world.

Modern religion now turns once more to take up the ancient ideal of making a home for man in the world. Religious men seek to make all knowledge and power serve in the building of the social order in which every individual will have an opportunity for the full and satisfying life, to build a world where the old evils that have dogged man's footsteps for ages will be no more and all peoples, conscious at last of their common humanity, may share in the creative task of making actual in the life of the every day the values and ideals of which they have dreamed in their religions for

thousands of years. This humanistic, naturalistic, social idealism is the vital phase of religion today—here and in the Orient.

Islam

The long centuries of hostility between Christianity and Islam make it very difficult for the West to enter sympathetically into the idealism of the religion of the Prophet. On their side the Moslems have been proud of their status as the heirs of both Judaism and Christianity, the chosen people of God to carry the truth after both of these earlier religions had failed.

But the last two generations have dealt stunning blows to the pride of Islam. They have now awakened to the necessity of coming to terms with a new world. The great imperialisms of Europe have reduced the power and importance of Moslem states until now only a small fraction of the Moslem peoples have their own rulers. They have come to realize that the neglect of modern science has left them behind in the development of industry and economic power. At the same time they realize how inadequate the ancient theology and the law code of Islam are in the new age. Consequently Islam is stirring with the hopes of a renaissance.

They recognize that Moslems must be freed from the blind observance of the law, that the power of the religious leaders of orthodoxy must be broken, that Moslem education must be in terms of the natural and social sciences and that the old restrictions thwarting economic development must be discarded.

There are many suggestions as to the method of advance. Some would return to the simplicity of Primitive Islam reading all modern ideals and ideas into the Koran and Mohammed. Others remember that Islam has had a glorious tradition of free thought and love of science and call the Moslem peoples to throw off orthodoxy, accept science and make of Islam a religion fully attuned to the modern world of thought and practice. Some have searched in the past traditions to discover that Islam has preached peace, love and brotherhood as a universal religion and would discard all local and temporal accretions in order to make of Islam a religion acceptable to all mankind. Turkey has grown weary of bearing the burdens

of the Moslem world, has abolished the Sultanate and the Caliphate, renounced the leadership of Islam and set to work to build a social organization in which the people of their country may have a chance for a better life. Their's is a program of social idealism altogether stripped of supernaturalism.

Islam represents a colorful variety in its modernisms—from the zealous devotion to the early ideals of the Wahabi and Sannusi group, the world evangelizing ideal of the Ahmadiyya, the rationalistic modernists like Mustapha and Ali Rozik, to the social idealism of Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

Conclusion

United as they are in spirit and ideal, the modernisms of the world present to the eye a bewildering variety. This is natural, since a complete break with the past is unthinkable. Modernists, as religious leaders, are leaders of religions. They themselves are the growing points of the organisms their work and thought are to transform.

The movements, therefore, carry the characteristic marks of the religion from which each has sprung. Each belongs to a particular social milieu and carries forward into the future the precious heritage of a long religious history. Each is compelled to reckon with "fundamentals," so firmly established in the popular mind or in social organization that they may not be neglected. Every religion, also, has its own peculiar symbolism and terminology capable of arousing emotion in the hearts of its people. Thoroughly to appreciate the significance of a modernist movement it would be necessary to enter into the emotional attitudes, the symbolism, the social controls and traditional thought forms which make the individuality of the religion to which it belongs. It is sufficient here to note that the "fundamentals" differ.

What presents a real problem to the modernist of one religion may be a matter of indifference to his fellow-modernist of another faith. For some of the "fundamentals" lie largely in the traditional organization of society, for others in the realm of belief. Caste in India and the family system in China are stubborn difficulties;

theological ideas belong to the area of tolerance. Karma and reincarnation do not worry Western modernists either as ideas or as social sanctions. Buddhists must wrestle with them as essential ideas. There is endless variety of emphasis.

The task, however, is the same everywhere, to find effective embodiment for the new ideals in the face of existing religious ideas, ecclesiastical organizations and social customs. It is a difficult task, not only because of the lack of a method of social advance, but because the old exerts an emotional pull even upon the emancipated intellectual. Yet, a loyalty, too long maintained, to the values won by the fathers in the past may mean loss of youthful energies for the future.

The tenth contribution to a symposium on "The Coming World Order," edited by Archie M. Palmer.

ROUND TABLE

The article by *George H. E. Smith* on "The Twilight of the American Peace Movement" published last month has aroused strong feeling. By some readers it was regarded less as an invigorating challenge to our national idealism than as evidence of discouraging weakness in the entire peace trend. A few felt that it criticized unfairly a number of definite organizations which have accomplished miracles in the face of overwhelming odds.

The editors suggest that "The Twilight of the American Peace Movement" be read in connection with "The Colleges and World Affairs" by *Archie M. Palmer* in the July issue, and "Institutions and Processes for the Advancement of International Peace" by *Charles E. Martin,* the leading article this month. While the special task of privately organized bodies promoting peace has by no means been completed, and none of them can be spared as long as other bodies are committed to the philosophy of war, nevertheless it is highly significant that the peace movement is passing from special organizations to the entire civil educational system and to the legislative bodies of the state. The peace movement, in other words, is not dying but undergoing rebirth. No one laments the acorn that reappears in the mighty oak.

"Shall We Give Up Proselyting?" by *Arthur E. Holt* is a question which ethically and spiritually can have but one answer, but which socially leads to other questions ultimately bound up with the whole problem of world order. Like armament, sectarian propaganda develops as much from fear as from the zeal of conquest. The church which has evolved to the point of complete tolerance cannot escape the intolerance of less developed communities. It is perhaps the most vital weakness of the national state that it lacks the collective intelligence and the social conscience necessary for the moral guidance and education of the people. Short of disloyalty

to the state, it allows the existence of incompatible and irreconcilable religious corporations whose very statements of purpose wage constant warfare on the spiritual plane. Not until government becomes truly moral will there be a cessation of the interminable battle of religions waged from the dawn of time. The fact that the most belligerent churches, with their outrageous claims of special spiritual authority, compel other churches to resist the pressure of injustice, parallels the fact that it is the national government most committed to the hope of profit through strife that obligates other governments to maintain arms.

America's entrance into European affairs, under economic pressure, brings up the question of the League of Nations anew. The question whether the United States should join the League, or participate in the World Court, was only temporarily settled by the Senate under Woodrow Wilson. In "The League of Nations and the United States" by *Elizabeth W. Bassett,* an article to run two more issues, we have an admirable treatment of a situation highly relevant at the present time. *Carl A. Ross's* conception of World Citizenship perhaps indicates the terms on which America will ultimately enter an international union.

The point of view expressed by Dr. Holt in "Shall We Give Up Proselyting?" has strong reinforcement in "Religion and the Modern Age" by *A. Eustace Haydon.* The restless, uneasy contact of creeds in Christianity represents a struggle for predominance which becomes meaningless when the great racial religions are viewed as a whole. The proselyting faith, in fact, in adapting itself to win minor engagements at home, is rendering itself unfit to represent the ultimate ideals of religion in and for the world. The fate of militaristic Germany is the fate of any church clinging to the hope of world empire.

The present issue concludes the eighth volume of *World Unity.* Since October, 1927, the magazine has published the following serial articles—many of them since published in book form: "Science and Religion" by *Kirtley E. Mather*; "The Ideal of World Unity" by *John Herman Randall*; "Interaction of Europe and Asia" by *William R. Shepherd*; "Sacred Scriptures of Five Religions" by

Alfred W. Martin; "The Biological Sanctions of World Unity" by *Ernest Maurice Best*; "Progress by Telic Guidance" by *Mary Hull*; "International Politics and World Peace" by *Dexter Perkins*; "The New Humanity" (an anthology) by *Mary Siegrist*; "Racial Relationships and International Harmony" by *Frank H. Hankins*; "Science, Philosophy and Religion" by *Edwin Arthur Burtt*; "A World Community" by *John Herman Randall*; "One Religion—Many Faiths" by *J. Tyssul Davis*; "Nationalism and Internationalism" by *Herbert Adams Gibbons*; "My International Family" by *Martha Taylor Brown*; "Apostles of World Unity" (still continuing) by *various authors*; "Youth and the Modern World" by *various authors*; "Elements of a World Culture" by *various authors*; "Leaves of the Greater Bible" (an anthology) by *William Norman Guthrie*; "Round the World Log of a Sociologist" by *Herbert A. Miller*; "The International Note in the Novels of Pre-War Years" by *Evelyn Newman*; "The Coming World Order" (still continuing) by *various authors*; "The Quest of World Peace" by *Dexter Perkins*; "Changing Conceptions in Hinduism" by *Albert J. Saunders*; "The Permanent Court of International Justice" by *Charles Evans Hughes*; "The Conscience of Europe" by *Robert Merrill Bartlett*; "World Citizenship" (still continuing) by *Carl A. Ross*; "The Challenge of World Unemployment" by *Norman Angell;* "Fellowship and Class Struggle" by *A. J. Muste*; in addition to editorial departments, book reviews by *John Herman Randall, Jr.,* and leading articles on subjects of international interest.

Through this channel has flowed an appreciable part of the constructive thought of the day. The cost to each subscriber during the past four years has been exactly *fourteen dollars.*

No periodical expects or desires to take the place of books, but the fact remains that only the special student has time to read all the valuable works on world affairs now coming from the press. Even a partial reading list must include some two hundred titles. Under these conditions, the intelligent layman may read *World Unity Magazine* to see the international scene as a whole, and reinforce this with books on the subjects in which he is especially interested.

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YOUTH IN THE CHANGING WORLD

Letters from World Unity Readers — III

During this transitional period when everything seems uncertain, World Unity comes as a beacon of light with hope and encouragement.

To my knowledge such a magazine has never before been published which is as all-embracing in its interests without fear or prejudice of race, creed or nationality. I know of no better medium for educating our youth than to place World Unity in their hands and have them absorb its principles.

It is indeed a rare privilege to get in touch each month with many of its authors and contributing editors. The first thing I do upon receiving my copy of World Unity is to turn to the Round Table to see what invaluable friends we are to meet, in that particular issue.

Then too I find the book review section of great help in selecting really worth while books.

I find World Unity of great help in writing club or school papers. Recently my daughter who is a junior in High School was asked to join a contest in writing an essay on "World Peace" sponsored by the American Legion. She was stimulated in interest on this subject by being a reader of World Unity and took first prize in the local High School contest.

Personally I found great help in World Unity when writing a club paper on Jane Addams and was delighted to find she had been chosen by World Unity as one of the "Apostles of World Unity" and that she too had been placed on the list of the twelve greatest living persons in response to a questionnaire sent out by World Unity.

I do not see much need of improvement in World Unity, but hope its present high standard will be maintained and that its circulation may increase until it will be included in every publc library and reading room in America, so that the youth of our land will become imbued with its energizing spirit. I wish you God speed!

CORA MILLER

Groton,
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